

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000

March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakairi on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3.
Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through
[487] it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty
[136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento" /see the glossary, p. 170 / of the Bakairi /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate
[342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

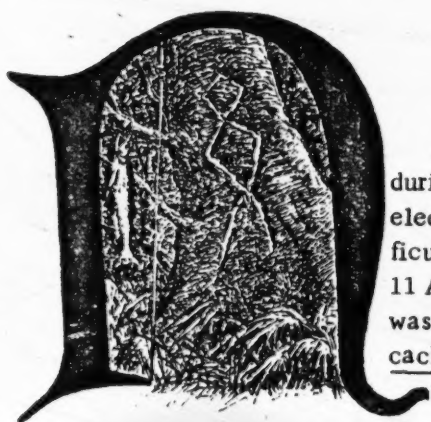
574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

^ [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/157/

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaĩr. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.



After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become

positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

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For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The

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[487]

[532]

ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

241

Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57° .4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. ϕ 13° 7'.3, λ 6° 1'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.

7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

[361] Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

229 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

• 487 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

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/53 cont. /

- 122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another [487] along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "áma = "you," "that is you," or "áma k̲x̲aráiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."
- 829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaĩf, was called there the "píma k̲x̲aráiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaĩf Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluéne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/56 cont./

114 Baka'rf, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar
Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on
Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421):
"In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter
before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains
the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy,
silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Baka'rf;
they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in
their association with one another and as they acted toward
me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this
village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under
the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their
temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life
less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls
do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on
canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused,
but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which,
like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily
attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though
there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and
the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
342 round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
592 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
122 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "taséra,"
417 an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
251 mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
241 long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a
few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around,
bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/
(Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosu). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

● 487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest
moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).² Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom
I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years
plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter
and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one,
Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of
visitors came from the second village, among them one whose
parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered:
"pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who,
with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the
"tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).² Her antithesis
was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of
two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnifi-
cently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name,
seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little
paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.

[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale
rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and
the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is
saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears -
here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant
fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that
spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled
the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mis-
treated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother
Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

¹[see P. 40--Analyst]
²[see P. 28--Analyst]

/87 cont./

800

During the first few hours beyond Maigéri, the Kulisehu flowed along with heavenly calm; the canoe with its oars was undistortedly mirrored in the bottle-green surface, and a long trail of foam bubbles indicated the path. Somber, but shot through with yellowish sunlight, the picture of the forest back-drop contrasted with the shimmering, glittering surface. Clothed in full foliage, the tree outlines were rounded, and luxuriant light-green masses of bamboo filled all the gaps. Overhanging bushes and low trees, which, bending far over, seemed pushed back from the shore, spread out roofs of shade, in the shelter of which one enjoyed gliding along. Nothing is more beautiful than the universal silence of nature before the cachoeira comes; one knows that soon the roaring will be heard, at first far away and low, then louder and louder, and one enjoys the quiet which would overwhelm our spirit with oppressive boredom were it not for the prospect of the approaching, all too

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lively contrast. When we traveled the same stretch for the first time on 20 September, I had enjoyed the sight of graceful Luchu, who with bow and arrow, standing upright in the canoe, was looking for pakú fish. The Indian, to whom the fishhook was unfamiliar, nevertheless used bait. He tossed bean-sized bright red berries (iwáulu) quite far out into the river, quickly stretched the bow, aimed at the berry, and sent off the arrow the moment the pakú snapped at it and the berry disappeared.

487

At that time we had comfortably reached Iguéti in one day, for we left the canoes as soon as possible and went overland. This time we could not spare ourselves any of the rapids. There were eight of them in all up to the so-called harbor, but after the seventh, at 5:30, we already pitched our camp. It had taken us 40 minutes at the fourth one to push the canoes through the extensive maze of stones. Our canoe became stuck fast between two boulders and was half filled with water. It is an unpleasant feeling when the flexible floor of the vessel bends under one's feet

[226]

like a wave. At 4:00 we found the entire /88/ river blocked and studded crosswise by high palings and stones, where the Bakaïrf can cut off and open a passage for the fish at their discretion. It was a very strange sight and, if one considers what they have to work with and the cultural progress of the Bakaïrf, not without

/88 cont. /

487 grandeur. We had to move the stones laboriously out of the way at the edge of the palings in order to pass through even with our narrow canoes. Behind this a width of 124 meters.

000 At the last rapids Vogel was shipwrecked. The instruments remained dry, but the condensed-soup tablets suffered a premature



Fig. 3. Bird cage.

[122] soaking. So we utilized the opportunity to brew, for once, an extravagantly strong soup from the hopelessly softened pieces. We stopped behind the site of the accident, from here visited the Bakaïrî village on the next day, 4 October, and meanwhile had the canoes transported to the harbor. On this stretch, too, Vogel's canoe hit a stone and went under. On this occasion a water thermometer given us by Herr von Danckelman sank into the depths, true to its destiny, but remained below, never to be seen again, and eluded a reading.

Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Auetö SP6
Trumai SP23

/154 cont. /

000 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of
8 the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited
y by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakairí. Farther down-
101 stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the
361 two villages which the Bakairí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish
103 village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three
villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü --
this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October,
of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the
Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú
territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several
lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower
courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö
may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

* It is really strange that their name seems
to have this meaning. They are called
"Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní
the unsoftened adjectival form apité means
"what is at the center, in the middle."

A
101 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a
361 third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages
close together and were on the point of uniting them into a
single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti
and Auetö.

T
101 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing
361 led to the Trumai settled in two villages on its right bank not
167 far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the
Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.
y
361 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small
103 tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages
101 that have separate names. We become acquainted with single
individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/,
and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the
Bakairí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the
Bakairí specifically pointed out that they are found overland
between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

/200/

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III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B
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128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large.

B
162
621 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T
361
181 Only the Trumai and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than
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[361] two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had
B
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B /200 cont. /

133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast
network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for
persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the
stranger could not find his way, made communication there ef-
fortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but
also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil
made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.

433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing
among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important,
both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was
charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting,
beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and
the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional
game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously,

B /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
80 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
433 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
252 nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with
large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice
agriculture.

B Mentally, -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with re-
gard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest
sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed,
even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every
occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside,
on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight
camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not
aware of any gulf between him and the animal world, he saw

173 /391 cont. / "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the
Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from
the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a
"tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the

• [487] Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the
Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are

[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on
the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-

[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits
from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult
to say, however, when the separation between West and East
Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.

[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the
tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the
rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti,
Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and
Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grand-
fathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a
small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former
times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits
back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí
may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual
separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle
or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the
Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of
the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual in-
ternal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent
neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable
Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Caýabi/ are given as

/30' cont. /

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still
lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when
she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[66] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and
the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits
derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all
the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the
Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other dis-
cords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get
along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this
reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther
downriver. I found the first of these Xinguanos settlements at the
place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It
was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four
small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther down-
river I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho
occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
487 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea,
Karíá. I had already encountered Karíá when I visited Cacique
Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

[P. 70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo.....	6	18	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga.....	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village.....	3	10	7	9	26
Second village.....	4	18	17	7	42
Third village.....	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village.....	7	27	18	8	53
Total.....	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
 161 in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
 [142] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
 [36] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

- 361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utandri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*iwisê*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tastra*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.
- 346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoëti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoëti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

- 251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirêu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
- 343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amêka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

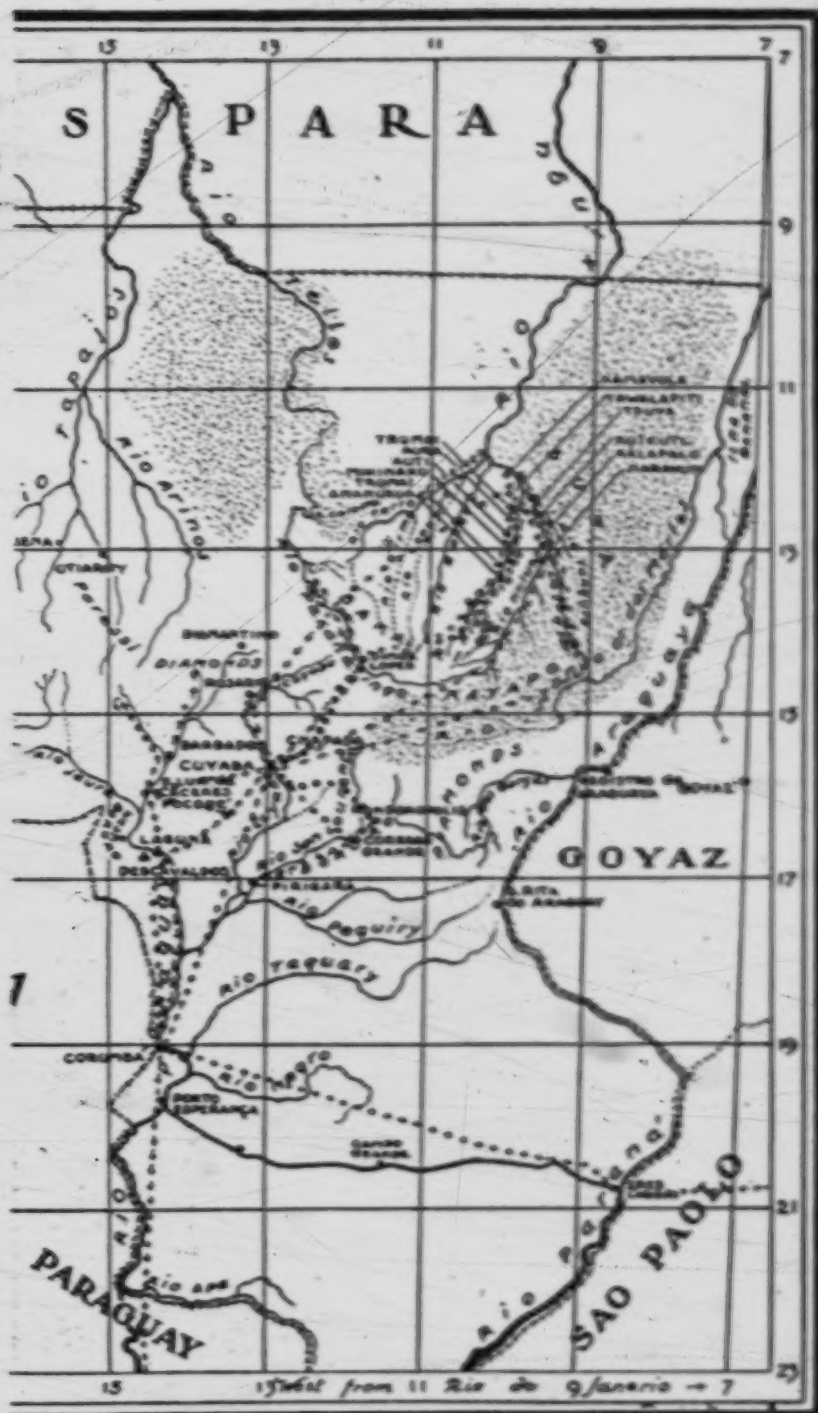
Ba
Bo
102
131
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172
487
361



[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

Ba
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102
131
133
172
361
487



[Plate XIV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]